3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

133 very abrupt; it soon gives place to the broad coastal plain which stretches thence to the ocean and which is broken only by low foot-hills in its eastern part near the higher mountains, and by short, isolated, low ranges of hills and individual hills in its western part nearer
131 the coast. The portion of this coastal plain now occupied by the Cayapa is that along the lower course of the Rio Cayapas and its tributaries. There are very few, if any, who reside as far as the lowest of the foot-hills of the coast range.

133 The lower course of the Rio Cayapas is wide, very deep, and sluggish; but immediately above tidewater it is a swift, more or less shallow stream, with numerous rapids, and in its upper course its current is so rapid that it may be ascended by canoe only with difficulty, even when not in flood. At time of very high water, on the other hand, the river is quite impassable at certain rapids, especially that known as Corriente Grande. The nature of the coastal plain is such as to produce numerous rapids, some of them of considerable extent, but, so far as it was possible to ascertain, there are no cataracts along the lower course of the river.

To the east of the coast range of the Andes, and separating it from the much higher sierra, spreads an extensive valley, at a lofty altitude, in which are situated the chief interior cities of Ecuador, including Quito (9,350 feet, or 2,850 meters), Ibarra (7,380 feet or 2,250 meters), and others. It was here, according to
• [173] their traditions, that the Cayapa formerly lived. Beyond this great main range of the Andes lies the vast Amazon basin.

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

135 in considerable deposits along this portion of the coast of Ecuador. In fact this region, like a large part of the western coast of South America, is rich in precious metals, those present in this particular locality being chiefly gold and platinum, although silver and copper are also found. It is an interesting fact that platinum first became known to the civilized world through its introduction from the Province of Esmeraldas; it had, however, been discovered and employed to a considerable extent in the making of ornaments by the aboriginal inhabitants of the region about the mouth of the Rio Santiago before its introduction into the modern arts, in fact long before the coming of Columbus. The high development reached in the art of metal-working by the ancient inhabitants of this section is shown particularly by the elaborate and delicately wrought ornaments of gold and platinum, and occasionally also of silver and copper, found so abundantly at La Tolita near the mouth of the Rio Santiago and at certain other points in that vicinity.

325 The Cayapa Indians of the present day are quite differently disposed toward metal-working, for they have no knowledge of the art, now using no metal [439] objects other than those obtained by trade, such as [173] axes, adzes, and machetes. They assert that they never came into contact with the ancient metal-workers of this region, for the reason that they were long ago driven out or exterminated by another tribe which the Cayapa in turn banished in comparatively recent times. Not 31 only do the Cayapa do no metal-work themselves, but

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

slaves of this western coast, especially of Colombia. 177
These negroes live adjacent to and mingle very much [595]
with the Cayapa, and have exerted a strong influence
on some features of their culture, especially their music.

HISTORY

According to Cayapa tradition, the original home of 173
the people was in the mountains near Ibarra. At a
time probably very near that of the arrival of the first
Spaniards, the Cayapa as a body moved to what is now
known as Pueblo Viejo de Cayapas, in the mountains
drained by the upper course of the Rio Santiago. Var-
ious reasons are given for this migration, some affirming
that it was because of their fear of the invaders (and,
as one informant said, especially the fear of their horses),
while others say that it was due to the general alteration
in their mode of life as a result of the conquest. Still
others claim that the migration occurred some time
prior to the conquest, and that it was due to their love
of peace and their distaste for the hostilities forced on
them by the invading Quichua, or Incas as they are
so often called, who, only a comparatively short time
prior to the arrival of the Spanish explorers, had invaded
Ecuador and subjugated its various peoples in the
interior, even as far north as what is now the northern
boundary of the republic. One informant related a tra-
ditionary tale to the effect that the Cayapa migrated by
the advice and under the leadership of a certain shaman
who, dissatisfied with conditions as they were at Ibarra,
called through his magic a jaguar which he entrusted
with the duty of finding a more suitable abode. After

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

•173 about a month's wandering, the jaguar returned and reported to the shaman that the most suitable place was the then uninhabited region about Pueblo Viejo. Acting on this advice he assembled his people and all departed for the new locality. Here the Cayapa lived for a considerable length of time in much the same manner as before—typical mountaineers, knowing very little of river life, and with maize as their staple food.

At that same time the rivers Cayapas and Santiago, and the coast adjacent, were occupied by another people, very vicious and always enemies of the Cayapa. By some they are said to have been cannibals. They preyed constantly on the Cayapa, killing them whenever and wherever encountered. The Cayapa, on the other hand, were then, as they are now, a very peaceable people; but after many years of these outrages they organized war-parties which descended the rivers and exterminated the enemy. These people are always referred to by the Spanish term *Indios Bravos* ("wild Indians"), and are described by some informants in fanciful, mythical terms. By most, however, they are declared to have been like ordinary people, except that both men and women wore skirts of bark cloth and otherwise dressed differently from the Cayapa, and that they were very ferocious. Some claim that in this war of extermination all these Indios Bravos were killed; others claim that a few escaped to the mountains about the extreme headwaters of the Rio Esmeraldas, where their descendants still live and are much feared even at the present time.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

It is said that these people whom the Cayapa are reputed to have conquered are not the people who formerly lived at La Tolita and built the mounds and made the pottery and metal objects so abundant there. That was a still different tribe which occupied the region prior to the time of the people whom the Cayapa exterminated. And they are likewise quite a different people from those formerly living along the lower course of the Rio Esmeraldas. It is said that at a point on this river a short distance above the present town of Esmeraldas, there lived, before the coming of the whites and negroes to the region, a tribe of Indians called Wásũ. They were like the Cayapa in appearance, but had a language entirely different from that of the Cayapa or of any people now known to them. It is said that there were a few of these Indians in the vicinity of Esmeraldas up to within a generation or two past, but that they are now extinct. No words of their language were recalled by any of the Cayapa informants.

Accounts of the migration of the Cayapa from Pueblo Viejo to their present abode vary somewhat. One informant gave the following account which attributes the success of the Cayapa to magic.

After the Cayapa had been subjected to the depredations of the Indios Bravos for many years, it was determined that some action must be taken to insure their safety. Accordingly three men were sent out to reconnoiter. They came down the river on a small raft, using the greatest care to make no sound and traveling entirely at night. They reported that there were

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

173 great numbers of the Indios Bravos living in villages along the river.

Next, two young women were sent down, who at last discovered a house containing two Indio Bravo men asleep. Approaching cautiously, they discovered that these men held clasped very tightly under their arms short lance-shape wands which, by working with the utmost caution, the women were able to remove. They took these objects back to Pueblo Viejo and gave them to their husbands, who set about at once to learn from the wands the various magic, death-dealing powers which they possessed. At first the wands refused absolutely to divulge anything, but after being frightened with threats of burning, they consented to teach the men during the night.

When night came, therefore, the wands flew about the house and exhibited their magic power. They taught the men what parts of the body were vulnerable to them, and how, on the other hand, they might be caught in the arm-pit, by the side of the head, on the shoulder, in the inner angle of the elbow, in the angle of the knee, and by various other parts of the body. The wands also taught these men how to dodge their own attacks, and also how they might be used in killing the uninitiated. These men, in turn, taught others, until a considerable company of magicians had been thoroughly trained.

At last an expedition of ten of these magicians, each with his wand, which had been thoroughly tried, started down the river to attack the Indios Bravos. One

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

magician, who was especially powerful, remained in his house at Pueblo Viejo to chant the proper incantations to pacify the souls of those who were to be killed, in order that they might not harm any of the attacking party of magicians. The members of the party approached in succession and with great caution the various points inhabited by the Indios Bravos. At each place they made a sudden attack, using their wands with deadly effect. These attacks were met by a stout defense on the part of the Indios Bravos, but the wands of the Cayapa had been so thoroughly trained and proved that they were able to fly against those sent by the enemy and break them, and later to kill everyone in the village attacked. 173

The Cayapa first attacked the Indios Bravos living along the Rio Sapayo Grande; next those along the Rio San Miguel; next those along the Rio Camarones; then those along La Herradura de Cayapas, and so on down the Rio Cayapas, up the Rio Onzole, and again down the Rio Cayapas to its confluence with the Rio Santiago. They also visited destruction on the inhabitants along the Rio Santiago, and finally made their way down to the coast. Here the magicians divided part going along the coast as far as Tumaco on the north the remainder going as far as Esmeraldas on the south Thus by these magic means they were able to destroy all the former inhabitants of the region and to render it habitable to themselves.

On the return of the shamans to Pueblo Viejo, all the Cayapa moved down to the Rio Cayapas, which region

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

173 in large measure they found to be the same as it is now; but the Cayapa did not take possession of the former territory of the Indios Bravos until conditions had first been more or less changed. For instance, while the Indios Bravos had fields of plantains and bananas as do the Cayapa at present, they were not utilized directly by the conquerors, but the roots were dug up and replanted. Similarly all other products of the labor of the Indios Bravos were changed, thus removing any danger to the Cayapa from using them.

[262] In those days also, the sabalo, the fish most prized by the Cayapa, existed only in the main streams of the rivers: it never came into the small esteros as it does now. On going into the country of the Indios Bravos the Cayapa placed near the mouth of each estero a row of palm-wood posts which had the magic power of rising from the ground to their full height during full moon and of sinking into the mud out of sight during the dark of the moon. These posts are said to have had a direct effect on this particular species of fish and on their passing up and down the estero. Some of these posts are said to be found even now at the mouths of certain esteros.

173 There are, of course, no means of fixing the exact
174 date of the migration of the Cayapa either to Pueblo Viejo or to their present location, and their tradition cannot be taken too literally. However, it seems probable that the essential features of the tradition in large measure are based on historical facts.

Whatever the reasons for their move, and whatever

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the means employed to accomplish it, the advantages in this new location over their former mountain habitat resulted in greater ease of agriculture, improved conditions for growing plantains, facility of travel on the river, and proximity to the sea. The change from their former life, which was that of a village community of mountaineers with maize as the staple food, was very considerable. They at present live scattered along the banks of the rivers, each family keeping to itself in large measure, but they still preserve a semblance of their former village life in the three pueblos, Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, each of which is a common meeting place for its particular division of the people.

The provincial and national governments recognize, in a way, the rights of the Indians to full and peaceable possession of their territory, and have endeavored to protect them by enacting laws prohibiting the settlement of other peoples along the Rio Cayapas and its tributaries. The enforcement of these laws, however, has been quite another matter, for the negroes, descendants of former slaves of Colombia and Ecuador, in later years have gradually worked their way up the streams until now their houses extend as far as Corriente Grande. Formerly Cayapa houses were found as far down-stream as Borbon, at the confluence of the Cayapas and Santiago rivers, but at present the house farthest down-stream is only a short distance below the confluence of the Rio Onaole with the Rio Cayapas.

As for the white population of the entire Province of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

declare the Cayapa absolutely honest. It is claimed also 674
that murder and other major crimes are entirely unknown among them.

On the other hand, there are strict rules with respect 684
to marital relations, any infringement of which meets with severe punishment. The details of this phase of Cayapa life will be discussed in dealing with the subject of marriage. The Cayapa themselves claim that in [177]
aboriginal times the same regulations in respect to these matters were in vogue, but presumably they may have been at least strengthened, if not considerably influenced, by the rigid church laws introduced by missionaries.

It is said that formerly, when the Cayapa were a 173
united mountain people residing in a village community, there was but one chief and one government for all, but that soon after they settled along the banks of the river they became segregated into the three divisions as above mentioned. There then arose the three separate villages for fiestas and other gatherings, and the three separate and independent governments. No special reason for this separation is given by the Cayapa, other than that it was more convenient than to have a single central government; and no explanation could be obtained as to how the officials of the three separate governments were first appointed or elected.

It is said that in aboriginal times the inauguration of a new official was attended by no special ceremony, but that he automatically assumed the duties of his office on the death of his predecessor. At present, however, such a 622
person enters on these duties only after having been 624
duly inducted by the priest during his annual visit to the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

ceptions, if indeed it is not entirely a distortion of the biblical account of the genesis. According to this, God (Dios apa) fashioned out of clay five pairs of individuals in the form of human beings, at a point far in the mountains east of Quito; he then spat in their mouths and they sprang up in the full vigor of life. They went immediately to the region of Ibarra and became the first Cayapa. No details are given of their further existence up to the coming of the Spaniards. It is said that at that time they had so far increased as to fill the country completely. This account further states that, owing to their fear of the Spaniards, and especially of horses, they migrated to Pueblo Viejo in the lower mountains between Ibarra and the coast at a time shortly after the arrival of the first Spaniards. According to other accounts it would appear that this migration was probably prior to the conquest and may have been due to the encroachment of other tribes. It seems not improbable that the active conquest by the Quichua of Peru, which extended throughout the interior mountain region of Ecuador at a time immediately prior to the Spanish conquest, may have been the cause of this migration. Other than this meager account, the aboriginality of which is doubtful, it was impossible to obtain a trace of a creation myth accounting for the presence of human beings on the earth.

As for the universe itself, it seems to be accepted by the Cayapa as having always existed and as having required no act of special creation.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the spirits themselves never eat any of the material part of the great quantities of food which they appropriate and cook; consequently this food is fed to their pets. The food is thrown to them upon the floor, as we might feed an animal, but all food offered to human beings who are guests in the cave is served upon coiled serpents. 116

While the bū'tcûlya live primarily on the earth, they are able to ascend into the upper world by means of the rainbow (bū'tcûlya ciñgûtiñatû) to visit Thunder. The object of this visit is purely a friendly one, since the bū''tcûlya are not servants of Thunder and neither do favors for nor receive favors from him. [82]

INDIOS BRAVOS

A class of beings which seems to be partly mythical and partly to have a basis in fact are the Indios Bravos, or he ûya'la. As was mentioned in speaking of the history of the Cayapa, it is claimed by them that their occupancy of the country adjacent to the Rio Cayapas dates only from comparatively recent historic times, and that formerly there lived upon the river the Indios Bravos, a people who subsisted, partly at least, on raw human flesh. In other respects these people were much like the Cayapa themselves. They lived in isolated family groups and had no villages; they were a little taller than the Cayapa, but of the same general appearance and color; their clothing, however, consisted of a short skirt of black cloth, which was the dress of both men and women; they used no paint on their faces or bodies; their most striking physical feature was their very large eye 776 173.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

77% teeth, similar to the fangs of the jaguar. After the Indios
●173 Bravos had preyed on the Cayapa for many years, the latter arose against them and descended upon their territory with a strong force armed with magic weapons, almost annihilating the cannibals and taking possession of their country. A detailed account of this trouble between the Cayapa and the Indios Bravos is given on pages 32–36.

It is said that a few Indios Bravos still exist far back in the mountains near the headwaters of the Rio Guayabamba, where, contrary to their ancient custom while on the Rio Cayapas, they have a village. They are never visited by any surrounding peoples, and are much feared by all. In recent years the only definite report of them which has reached the Cayapa is that, while a party of negro rubber gatherers was on the headwaters of the Guayabamba, they came upon three Indio Bravo boys whom they captured after a desperate struggle. Being on their way to Quito, the negroes endeavored to take the boys along. En route two of them died, but the third reached the city and was placed in the care of some priests. One of the Fathers later had a finger bitten off by the boy, thus showing the innate viciousness of the Indio Bravo tribe.

It is said that the Cayapa fought the Indios Bravos with a short palm-wood spear. These weapons are still found occasionally, partly embedded in the sand of the river where they have drifted from ancient times. These implements are said to be so dangerous that if a person attempts to pick one up or touches it in any way, illness is sure to follow. It is probable that this short

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

palm-wood spear is in reality the magic wand which was used by the Cayapa against the Indios Bravos when they were driven from the Rio Cayapas, as before mentioned. The Cayapa were able to do this by virtue of their superior magic and the superior magic of their wands, and not by means of ordinary conflict, hence it is the magic of these wands or spears which still clings to them that renders them so dangerous even at the present time.

776 173

THE GIANT ASLAÛ'HMÛ

A class of male giants said to have been very numerous in former times in the foot-hills bordering the Rio Cayapas is the aslaû'hmû. It is said that these giants became frightened at the first firearms possessed by the Cayapa and that they gradually disappeared into the mountains farther back from the river. Here they still reside, and even yet capture people who venture too far into the jungle. These giants are from eight to twelve feet in height, have skin of the same color as the Cayapa, and have very long fingers without nails. Their noses are very large also, being about three inches in length; their eyes are very large, and the mouth is irregular in shape; they have no teeth, and are unable to talk; the upper part of the abdomen appears normal, but the back from the ribs down is lacking, and within the abdominal cavity the liver is the only organ present. They wear a kind of skirt of bluish cloth, somewhat similar in texture to that woven by the Cayapa, and a bluish shirt reaching to the umbilicus and with sleeves which come to a point just above the elbows; they also wear a tall blue cap

776